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133 would be from an ensuing fire. So we sat still till all was over. After this we turned to and chatted about earthquakes and general cosmology. This chapter is in part the result of this conversation.

823 The chief said: "We Ainu people think that the earth is round like a ball, and not flat. It stands floating upon a large expanse of water. There are very many islands standing in this water, each of which is governed by its own gods." There is no single word in the language for the "whole world," but each island and continent is a world in itself and is called a *moshiri*, i.e. "floating earth." "Islets in rivers and lakes and the islands in the sea are all called *Rep-un-shiri*, i.e. 'land in the sea'; and we know the whole world and every world is round because the sun rises every day from the east and sets toward the west, and comes up again from the east on the morrow."

823 825 "The world," continued my friend, and he meant Yezo and Japan, "rests on the back of a very big fish which is called "backbone fish of the world." He is a wondrously large trout-like creature and bears the whole weight of the world upon his back. He is its true foundation. Whenever he moves, the earth trembles, and when he shakes himself severely, there is a big earthquake. And one never can tell when he will become impatient and excited. He has to be very carefully watched. He is also the direct cause of the ebb and flow of the tide. When he inhales, as for breath, the tide ebbs; and when he exhales, it flows toward the shores of the sea. Should he make an extra big exhalation, there is a tidal wave." Respecting this matter the old man gave me the following myth on the ebb and flow of the tides.

823 "Before God made the world there was nothing but swamp to be seen, in which, however, there dwelt a very big trout. This fish was a very mighty one, for his body reached from one end of the swamp to the

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other. So when the Creator produced the earth, He caused this creature to become its foundation. There lies the living trout underneath the world, regularly taking in and sending out the waters of the sea through his mouth. When he sucks the water in, the tide ebbs, and when he expels it, the tide flows."

The chief used often to wander from the point under consideration, and I found it much the best way to wander with him on such occasions and pull him up later. We had got thus far with the matter in hand, when he quite forgot the earthquake and stuck by the trout. The following is the legend he gave me:

"At the source of the Saru River there is a large lake, in which there used to live a monster trout. He was so big that he waved his pectoral fins at one end of the lake and flapped his tail at the other. Once upon a time the honourable ancestors met together and went to kill this fish. Though they tried to do so many times, they could not accomplish their end. The gods, who had a special regard for the Ainu, sent help from Heaven. The Heavenly Beings came down and seized the great trout with their hands. He thereupon plunged mightily and went to the bottom of the lake with great force. Then the gods put forth all their might, and, dragging the creature to the surface again, brought him to the shore. The honourable ancestors then drew their swords and chopped him till he was quite dead."

The chief told me that "this trout was in the habit, not only of swallowing such animals as deer, foxes and bears which might venture near to drink, but would sometimes gobble up men, women and children; not only so, but he would devour whole boatloads of people, boats and all."

I pulled Penri up here and asked him to give me more information about earthquakes. So he continued thus: "The trout upon whose back the world is found-

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roof to dry. But these holes are very useful in other ways. When fights take place inside between demons and men or between gods and demons, the spirits of the slain ascend alive through them to heaven. And when the deceased ancestors of the people come to their children to accompany them to battle, they enter here and then all go off together to wage the war, and many fights take place in the air. There are many allusions to this in Ainu folklore.

The western part of any place is always regarded as the lowest in esteem. This region, being the place where the sun sets, is looked upon as the abode of darkness and evil. Many fetishes are set up to the demons of evil and sickness at this end of the huts, both inside and out. The door leading from this quarter goes into an ante-chamber. In the south wall of this there is another door which leads into the open air. In the ante-chamber are stored fire-wood, garden tools and so forth. The dogs also, and these are the only native domestic animals the Yezo Ainu kept, are allowed to occupy this place. That part of the house extending from the top of the east-end window is held in special honour. The right-hand corner is the place where all the treasures are kept, also a great number of family charms and fetishes. Upon the beams over these, heirlooms, old swords, bows and arrows, spears and fishing implements, properly decorated with shavings from willow wood, are stowed away. In long boxes next to these are preserved the special ornaments and clothing. Many old sword scabbards and other things may be seen decorating the wall here.

Respecting the east-end window the following folklore was told me:

"The east-end window is a very blessed thing and of great importance always. When the highest gods are worshipped or when prayers are said to the ancestors, they should often be addressed through this window. Also, when fetishes are placed among the big

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823 ed is without doubt the real cause of tidal waves. Every now and then he takes in a vast quantity of water, and then with an extraordinary effort suddenly shoots it out of his mouth in one mighty blow. It is this act which causes the sea to overflow the land sometimes."

829 "But," I asked, "why do the gods allow this? If
821 they cared so much for the people, surely they would
[776] put a stop to it." "Yes," he said, "one would perhaps think so. But it must be remembered that there are demon gods as well. These get into the fish sometimes and work him up. They make him move, and when he does move, the earth, of course, moves also, for it rests upon his back, and this causes the earthquake. If he moves gently, the quake is small, and if violently, the quake is big. So as this is such a very unreliable and dangerous creature the Creator in His goodness has sent two mighty gods to stand one on either side of him day and night, in order to keep him quiet. These most wonderful divine beings always keep one hand each on him to hold him down and so prevent any severe movements. Whether they eat or drink, they must each without fail keep one hand on the monster; they may never take it off for an instant."

When he had finished the old man added for my instruction, "As this then is the true cause of these things, the old men have said, when they have seen their children eating with only one hand, which is a very wrong thing to do, 'It is only the gods who stand guard over the world's Backbone-fish who are allowed to eat with only one hand; are you those gods?' Thus do they rebuke them."

772 I asked the chief how far below it is to the back of
539 this foundation fish. "Ah," he said, "that I can not tell. No one knows. But it is very far down, for there are six worlds under ours, the lowest of which is called *Chirama moshiri*, i.e. "Lowest world." This is not regarded as a place of darkness, but as a very beautiful

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But if the patient died, the image
was left severely alone or cast away without ceremony 754
toward the west, which according to Ainu ideas is the 823
abode of darkness and the region whence all troubles
come.

I asked my friend how it happened that the Ainu 825
called snakes divine, when they acknowledged them
to be demons. "Ah," he said, "we only pretend to
worship them. We only flatter them and make them
imagine we look upon them as gods." These are his
words: "Snakes are very quick-tempered, but are easily
deceived by adulation. And so it happens that when
a child is born, the image of one of those reptiles is
made and worshipped by way of flattery. It is not
really worshipped, it is all a make-believe. And, should
a woman be possessed by a demon snake, she becomes
a hardened witch doctor and very dangerous. She will
also make images of snakes to worship."

Further; "As regards these creatures:—should a
woman see a snake swallowing anything, it means
snake possession for her. In such a case the creature
must be certainly killed and a stick stuck through its
head." One may often come across snake skins in the
early summer, left where they have been shed. It is
regarded as unlucky to see these, for they bring curses. [777]
Should a person see one, he must expectorate and say,
"The coward was running away." But if one sees the
skeleton of one lying curled up, he must say, "What a
brave one! He was not afraid to die by fire."

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## CHAPTER XXXVI

### ABOUT HUNTING

The Ainu men were great hunters, and, although fish and marine animals constituted the staple food, as a rule they lived largely on meat, bear's flesh and venison being the most plentiful. Both were greatly relished. The venison I much enjoyed when I could get it, but I could not endure either the smell or flavour of Bruin. Chief Penri's wife, Orosia, was looked upon as a wonderful woman by her people, for when she was quite a small child she took her father's bow and arrows and went out and shot a fine deer she discovered feeding near her home. Her brother's name was Yuk-no-uk, i.e. "The Deer Catcher."

The old Ainu showed great wisdom when selecting sites for their villages. The first thing they considered was the question of good drinking water. They would not build unless there was plenty at hand. Close by Penri's hut there was one of the best springs of very cold water I have ever come across. The next thing they thought of was the salmon rivers, along the banks of which, but not too near, they built their homes. They seemed to shun the lowlands as being unhealthy.

One of the chief's brothers was a mighty Nimrod, and, like the other hunters, made poison with which to tip his arrows. The poison I knew him to make was from the roots of aconite, but, as accidents have sometimes occurred from its use, the authorities forbade its manufacture. Penri's brother once made some for me and explained just how it was done. Prayer was to be said at every stage of its production. He told me that

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
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752 776 824 be killed by its fall, such a death is called 'getting harm from the tree.' Such accidents are caused by the multitude of demons inhabiting the various parts of the trunk, branches and leaves. When one has been killed thereby, the people ought to meet together, cut the tree down, chop it up into very fine pieces and scatter all to the four winds. For unless that tree be destroyed, it will always remain dangerous, and demons will continue to dwell in it. But if the tree be too large to cut up fine, let it be hacked and left there, the place being clearly marked, so that the people may not go near it."

And so, according to this and other like traditions, one is led to conclude that Mr. Arrow's desire for a postmortem operation did not arise simply because he wished to appear in heaven with a pure and healthy body, but also in part because he wanted vengeance taken on the demons of disease who killed him. In fact, he was undoubtedly seeking for purification and revenge in a thoroughly orthodox Ainu manner, and that by a post-mortem ceremony.

On a later day, I saw a ceremony performed which was called *niwen horippa*, i.e. "wild dance." It was after the death of a man from drowning. It was performed thus:

752 776 ●823 *Saké* was provided in abundance by the relatives of the victim, and messengers were sent to the villages near, inviting the men and women to join in the proceeding. All came, bringing their contribution of either *saké* or millet dumplings. The men all had, as is customary on such occasions, either a sword or long knife, and the women had their headgear hanging over their arms and their hair left hanging down in disorder. The men made a lot of willow fetishes and set them up about the place, said many prayers and offered libations. Then, after all had eaten well of dumplings and swallowed large amount of *saké*, they marched

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off in single file, shouting and chanting their death dirges.

The men held their swords and knives point upward in their right hands, close to the shoulder, and then in unison they took a step with their right feet and called out, "Woöi!" stretching the sword forward to the fullest extent possible. Then they moved their left feet forward in the same manner, at the same time drawing their swords back again and repeating the word, woöi. The cry resembled that of an owl during the night. This was carried on for some time. There was a great howling and at last the men seemed to get out of hand and danced about, striking in every direction and execrating the demon-mermaids and water nymphs in the river. They were much excited and looked quite wild. I smiled at them, and Old Penri actually winked at me, a compliment I returned. This kind of thing is very catching and being young then, I could hardly refrain from going in "for the fun of the thing." However, I let it pass and all was well. When all had been finished and the *saké* drunk up, with many a smack of the lips, they returned to a big bacchanalian feast. They slept that night where they fell over drunk. And so their battle with the demons of accidents from water came to an end.

It is these old ideas and superstitious practices which harm the people so much. They are like the wheels of some great Juggernaut passing over them and ruthlessly crushing them down and making it impossible for them to rise again.

The observance of this special ceremony of the "wild dance" is particularly important because the drowning may, so the Ainu imagine, have been done through the agency of an ordinary demon in an ordinary way, or by one who has been specially called upon to do it on account of the spite of another person, who had cursed the victim and prayed him to

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
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752 776 ●823 drown him. With regard to this matter my friend said, "I will tell you about the 'red stone.'"

"Should one see a very large red stone in a river, let him know that there is a merman inhabiting it. For our ancestors have taught us that such large stones are undoubtedly the homes of these creatures. And so it comes to pass that bad-hearted men say prayers to these stones and ask the merman inhabiting them to kill the enemy. Then, should the person so cursed wade the river, the merman is sure to come out from his home and slay him."

The whole merman tribe, he told me, are supposed to be very wicked and dangerous, so that their homes must be treated with proper respect. Hence the worship of big stones. The merman, when asked, will not only attack a cursed person when crossing a river in the immediate vicinity of the stone—its home—but when crossing any part of the river, so evidently the creature is regarded as ubiquitous as well as evil. Though unseen, it sees the man wherever he may be. My informant also told me that he thought mermen were part human and part fish. The ceremony of the "wild dance" is in part one of fear and also in part a ceremony of propitiation, for fetishes are offered to the stone with libations of saké.

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## CHAPTER XLIX

### FRESH AND SALT WATER GENII AND GHOULS

In travelling among the wilds of Hokkaidō with the Ainu, nothing has ever made a greater impression upon me than the unparalleled awe and deep respect in which the men held the rivers when going up and down them. I could not at first understand why this was so, but was gradually enlightened by chief Penri and others as the years went by. On my first trip up the Saru river and back again in an Ainu boat, which was merely the trunk of a large elm tree hollowed out, and had no seat in it, I was asked by the boatman to sit tightly on the bottom and not move more than I could possibly help, nor bend over the side to look into the water, nor reach out for anything on land or river, and to talk very quietly. All of which behests I promised faithfully to obey. I thought all this was for fear lest I should upset the boat, fall into the water, or disturb some wild animal or other. But in this surmise I was mistaken, as the sequel will show.

It was gradually borne in upon me that these people regarded rivers themselves as living creatures, and that each living thing was itself also inhabited by many other spirits, which in their turn also were the homes of others. I was assured that some of these were regarded as good and others as evil. The class-name for all of them, right from the head waters down to the river's mouth, was *Wakka-ush-kamui*, that is, "good and evil genii of the water." It was the firm belief of these people in such things that inspired the awe I saw settle down on the boatmen, one and all.

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823 Their silence also, together with the quiet of the surrounding mountains, all helped to inspire one with a kind of feeling that we were being watched by invisible beings and there was a continuous expectancy as of something, one did not know what, about to happen or be seen. And the silence was, sometimes, according to the place we were in or passing, such as might be felt.

These old Druid-like men were always a source of wonder and speculation with me, and I seemed to catch something of their spirit. We all seemed to have our moods, and our converse was more by look than by word of mouth. Their belief forcibly reminded me, as I sat there quietly in the boat, watching the beautiful scenery or passing rugged, dangerous places, of all one had heard in days of childhood about our own genii and ghouls, jins and ogres, spooks, sprites, elfs and imps, brownies, nymphs, dryads and mermen with their kind, and I thought "Well, after all, the Ainu and our own forebears had much in common." It was all most solemn, interesting and instructive, and I really felt that I was getting a little insight into Ainu psychology. The people were *living* their superstitions, not talking about them, except with hushed voice and reverent demeanour. I contradicted them in nothing, laughed at nothing, and so got to learn much more than I could otherwise have done. Sympathy wins where scorn is bound to lose.

778 The genius loci of the sources of rivers are called 782 *Pet-etok-mat*, and this means "Head-water-female." It is said to be the special sphere of such to superintend the river sources. These must be worshipped and fetishes made and set up before them. And people must treat them with all honour and be quiet before them. Otherwise vengeance will be taken and the waters dried up.

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In passing along, of course we came to many small tributaries, and I noticed that due respect was also paid to them. This consisted in a simple salutation, with a prayer silently offered. These tributaries were called "Little divine hands" (*Kamui po-tekɛ*). The tutelary genii were named "Divine Daughters" (*Kamui matne-po*). They are supposed to be the children of the goddess of the headwaters. "And," said my informant, "one must never forget that demons dwell there as well as gods.

During our hushed discourse I was told that there are other genii who are called "Females of the water-courses" (*Pet-ru-ush-mat*). These are innumerable and are supposed to watch over whole rivers, from their sources right down to the sea. There is no getting away from them and they have power to communicate with one another. The gods and demons, good and bad, are very much mixed up together, and are ubiquitous.

On passing over an eddy, I was told to be very quiet indeed. And I must be very reverent and not even smile. "But why?" I asked. The reply came, "A ghoul lives here who is called *Horokariyep*. She is a very short-tempered one and may attack us out of jealousy or spite." The name means "The Sprite who turns back." I hearkened to my teacher, sat quite still, and did not speak. Moreover, I pulled as long a face as possible, which actually made my old boatman laugh. Nevertheless, we got safely over. So also did we negotiate rapids, in spite of the evil spooks inhabiting them.

I found the boatmen appeared to be particularly afraid of a river demon named "Creature of Muddy Places" (*Nupki-ot-guru*). He is a married one, and his wife, who works with him, is called "Female of Muddy Places" (*Nupki-ot-mat*). They are said to dwell near the water's edges and it is they who make the water thick at times. They delight to tear down the banks

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
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823 of rivers, as they are both of a mischievous nature.
776 They are not, however, entirely vicious, for if fetishes are offered to them they are pleased and will do no harm. But if they are insulted or neglected, they will
[778] come along some night and knock down just that rich part of a soft bank where the women have sown their millet and other garden stuff.

By and by we came to places where the current was strong and there were some fairly big rapids to pass through with our tiny boat. I was asked to get out and walk down, but I told my two men that I would not do so unless they did also, for I had thorough confidence in their skill. "In that case," they said, "then you will please sit very still indeed and hold fast on to the side of the boat." I agreed to this and so we went on. We got through to the other end quite safely and very little wet. The genii supposed to inhabit such places are male and female. They are called, "Senders down of the currents" (*Chiu-range-guru*), and "Valiant and Divine Male Current" (*Chiuka-pinne-Kamui-Rametok*). These, I was told, must be worshipped and propitiated with fetishes.

The mermen and mermaids, with others, have been mentioned elsewhere as occasion has suggested, so are not spoken of again in this place. The general name for such is "Demons which pass through the water" (*Pe-poso-koshimpuk*).

## GENII AND GHOULS OF THE SEA

103 Not far from Muroran on the south eastern coast of Hokkaidō, there is a fishing village which the Japanese call *Washibetsu*. As written with Chinese ideographs, as the names of places on this island have been done for hundreds of years past by the Japanese, this means "Eagle Different" and seems to be quite an absurd appellation. But it should be remembered that

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
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such names, in both Japan Proper and Hokkaidō, were taken from the old Ainu designations and written by Imperial command with Chinese characters, phonetically, irrespective of meaning. The first command is said to have been given in 713 A.D. by the Empress Genmyō, and was repeated ten centuries later. The chief stipulations were that the ideographs chosen should be first euphonious and then have a lucky meaning. Washibetsu was one of these Ainu names so treated. In Ainu it is *Wash-pet* and means in their language, "Surf-river." 103

When passing through this small village some years ago, I stopped and had a chat about the place with an old Ainu friend who was with me. I asked him why it, particularly, was called by a name meaning "Surf River," and he told me that it was so named because of the surf which sometimes, in rough weather, rushed into its river-mouth from the sea. As this river is a slightly tidal one, the name is very appropriate.

We went down to the river's mouth and I saw that the opening was shallow and full of rocks. A little way out, too, there were rough rocks over which the sea danced. That, he told me, was the place where the fresh waters from the land met the salt waters from the sea, and was dangerous, for some water sprites lived there. Continuing our conversation, my friend told me that there was a particular genius who presided over the mouths of rivers. In this instance she is a female whose name means "She who governs the place where the fresh and salt waters mingle" (*Chiwashekot-mat*). It is her duty, he told me, to watch over the river waters just where they intermingle with the sea. It is also one of her duties to guide fish in and out of the river, when they go to spawn. So she is pretty busy. She must always be held in reverence, worshipped, and have fetishes presented to her fre- 823 776

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
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823 776 quently. Unless this is done, the people will suffer, some by getting no fish to eat and others by drowning.

I have written about some of the supposed good and bad creatures (gods and demons) of the sea elsewhere, but there are a few other mattters of interest concerning them which have come under my observation and which I think deserve a word or two now. Besides the "Wild Uncle," who has been already spoken of, and the demon described in the chapter on "A fight with the Devil," there is another chief demon of the sea who is called "He who descends upon the calm ocean." His name in the native tongue is *Ko-noto-ran-guru*. When he reveals himself, as he is sometimes supposed to do, he is said to appear in the shape of a [825] very big fish. He has his real home somewhere in mid-ocean. He is of a very evil disposition, frequently stirring up wind and storm and causing wrecks and interfering with the Ainu when out fishing, by driving the fish away and by drowning some of the fishermen. In times of distress he is worshipped, but not on any other occasions. It is very curious to remark that though worshipped, whisky and fetishes are not openly offered him. The reason given is that to offer them openly would incite much envy, jealousy, and anger among the other gods and demons, who desire such [226 782] things for themselves alone. Nevertheless, some fishermen do now and then secretly make fetishes for him and drink *saké* in his honour. But they keep this very secret.

823 776 825 226 782 Any abnormal fish, whether it be out of the common in form or colour, is supposed to be a misfortune-giving demon, and when caught is sent back as an offering to the demon of rough weather, whose property he is supposed to be. We once had a young man staying with us who told me of the following incident, which exactly illustrates this. He said that he and his father, while once out fishing off the coast, caught a

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
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sea turtle. When they got it on board, they were surprised to find one of its feet whiter than the others. It was an uncanny thing. It was a freak. When they saw this they began to fear. After a time the father declared it to be what he called an *ikonnup*, i.e. "A misfortune-bringing creature." It was a marine ghoul. Therefore, after a prayer, he cut off the foot with his big knife, and dropped both it and the turtle back into the sea. In doing so, he called out to the ghoul in a loud voice, "O thou demon who dost stir up storms, we now return this thy creature to thee. Take good care of him." In this act the old fellow was sending back to the storm and ill-fortune-bringing demon one of his own offspring as a present. It seemed to me a strangely sarcastic thing to do. But to them it was the right and proper procedure, and no insult was intended.

When one party of fishermen desire to bring down evil upon another enemy party, who may have given offence by poaching on what they regarded as their own preserves, they go directly to this same demon of storms, in prayer, and ask him to punish them. They tell me that he does really hear their requests and either soon sends a storm upon the others, so that some of them drown, or renders them unable to catch the fish, or afflicts them with demonomania. When he sends madness upon them, they are said to waste away gradually in sickness and finally die. This is a threat the rival fishermen hold over one another, and, believing it, they become more careful.

This mighty storm-demon is said to be the ancestor and chief of all the wicked minor sea-sprites. He is their owner and director. All are responsible to him. Such minor demons are, for example, "Those who make the sand fly on the seashore" (*Ota-patchi-guru*), and their wives, for they are said to be a married folk. Then the "Sprite of the big rollers," the "genii of the white horses," with hosts of others.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6



773 539 Then the honorable ancestors met and went to kill this fish, but found themselves unable to accomplish their end, though they attempted to do so for many days.

Because then they very much desired to kill the fish, the gods, who had a special regard for the welfare of Ainu land, sent help from heaven.

And the gods descending, they seized the great trout with their hands (claws).

Upon this it plunged mightily and went to the bottom of the lake with great force.

Then the gods put forth all their power, and, drawing the great trout to the surface of the water, brought it ashore.

Upon this all the honorable ancestors drew their swords and chopped the fish till they quite killed it.

The Ainu appear to have a special dread of large lakes, because they say that every now and again one of the monster fish suddenly puts in an appearance and commences its destructive work of swallowing animals and human beings. Only a few hundred years ago, they say, one of these awful fish was found dead upon the shores of the Shikot-tō (Chitose Lake). This monster had swallowed a large deer, horns and all, but the horns caused a severe attack of indigestion to come on, which the fish could not get over; nay, the horns were so long that they protruded from its stomach and caused its death.

[821 823] It is to the actions of one of these monstrous fish that all earthquakes, of which there are many occurrences in Yezo, are to be traced. The earth, *i. e.*, so far as Ainu land is concerned, is supposed to rest upon the back of one of these creatures; and whenever it moves, the world, as a matter of course, must feel the effects and move also. This earthquake-causing fish is sometimes called Tokushish, *i. e.*, "trout," and sometimes Moshiri ikkewe chep, *i. e.*, "the backbone fish of the world."

## LEGEND OF OKIKURUMI IN LOVE.

By Mr. John Batchelor.

The goddess felt lonely and gazed upon the inside and surveyed the outside of the house.

She went out, and behold,

The clouds were floating and waving about in beautiful terraces upon the horizon over Ainu land. Yes, that is what she saw.

So she returned into the house backwards and took down the needlework.

Again she looked at the point of her needle and fixed her gaze upon the eye end thereof.

Then came a little bird, called "water wagtail," and sat upon the window shutter and wagged its tail up and down and waved it from right to left.

Then two chirps and three chirps came to her and touched the inside surface of her ears, and what she heard was this:

The mighty Okikurumi, who is the governor of all Ainu land, went out of doors for a little while and, seeing you, has fallen ill of love on your account.

And though two bad fish and two good fish were placed before him for food he refused to eat.

Now, if Okikurumi should die, the soul of Ainu land will depart.

Then the little bird called "water wagtail," waving its tail, spake two words to her and said: "Have mercy upon us, that Okikurumi may live."

Thus then, by simply looking out upon the world, Okikurumi fell so sick of love that, though two bad fish and two good fish were set before him, he could not eat.

Dear, dear, how badly he felt.

Therefore the form of a woman resembling the goddess was made and sent down to Okikurumi.

The house was set in order; that woman who was sent down put things to rights.

Then Okikurumi looked through his sleeve and saw the beautiful woman.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6



The Kuriles are the islands which stretch like a row of beads from the most north-easterly coast of Yezo to the most southerly point of Kamschatka. They extend from 145° to 158° longitude east of Greenwich, and between 42° and 51° latitude north.

The archipelago forms part of the Japanese Empire, having been exchanged by Russia not many years ago for the southern half of Saghalien Island, then belonging to Japan. This group of islands is characterised mainly by the great extent of its volcanic rocks and tertiaries, showing marked evidence that it is only a continuation of the volcanic mountain-range forming the backbone of Yezo, and extending from Yubaridake, in the upper Ishikari province, to Cape Shiretoko; which volcanic region embraces a large portion of the Tokachi, Kitami, and Nemuro provinces. In this chain of islands there are many beautiful volcanic cones, especially in Kunashiri and Etorofu. Iron, copper, and other metal veins are found in small quantities in tuffs and andesites, but more important here, moreover, are the large sulphur accumulations near and in craters, both extinct and active; as on Mount Rahush, in Kunashiri, and the Ichibishinai, in Etorofu, the largest island of the Kuriles. At Pontoo, in Kunashiri, sulphur bubbles out from the bottom of a volcanic lake, which is probably an extinct crater.

Beside being rich in minerals, the larger islands of the Kuriles abound in game; but fishing is the main industry practised by the sparse population of these rugged regions. The origin of the word "Kuriles" is not certain, but in all probability it is from the Russian *kuril*, smoke, as there are many active volcanoes in the islands. The more poetical Japanese call them *Chishima*, or the "Thousand Islands," meaning that they are numberless, and the *nonchalant* Ainu of Yezo profess entire ignorance as to their existence, and only some of the better informed give them the name of *Krafto*, by which they really mean Sakhalin. The hairy people are emphatically poor geographers, and have but little faculty for locating islands or any other places. In fact, how could they, having no maps, and no idea even of what a map is? The Chishima group and the island of Yezo, with all the smaller islands along and near its coast, when taken

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
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the *nusa* along the *inau* fences outside the east window will be given in the next chapter. Here it must be noted that the *nusa* referred to above stands apart from the others. The soul *nusa* of Shiramba Kamui comes next, and then the *nusa* of a feminine deity of the chase whose epithet is Hash-inau-uk Kamui, 'she who takes the *hash* [bush] *inau*'. Some elders have an esoteric name for this deity based on an old and interesting myth in which she appears as Niso-sange Mat, the woman descended from the *niso*, that is the under-piece of the wooden fire-drill. By the seashore she performs some protective function in connection with fishing, but inland, as a relative and assistant of Shiramba Kamui, she gives aid against the prowling evil spirits of the woods and hills. She not only protects the hunter but guides him to success in the chase. She is sometimes solicited by barren women and is said to have appeared in visions with an infant on her back.

Next to her *nusa*, and often continuous with it, is a fence along which are arranged *inau* offered to various *kamui*, and which is called *inau chipa*. These *kamui* will be referred to when we come to the ceremony of the house-warming but mention should be made here of Wakka-ush Kamui, also called Pet-orun (in the river) Kamui, who resides in or pervades water. This deity, usually regarded as male but sometimes as female, receives almost the same *inau* as Nusa-koro Kamui, and like him is associated with ancestor worship. A female manifestation of Wakka-ush Kamui is Nai-orun Kamui, who presides over springs and pools which appear in small valleys. Like Nusa-koro Kamui and Kinashut Kamui, Wakka-ush Kamui is besought in difficult childbirth. All the above *kamui* are usually revered as *pase kamui*.

There are a number of water spirits, regarded as assistants to or representatives of Wakka-ush Kamui, who occupy special positions in the river. Chiu-rape Guru and his spouse Chiu-rape Mat control the undercurrent, and Chi-wash Kamui the waters at the mouth of the river. Also esteemed are Chu-roro Guru (where the river flows deeply above rapids), Pan-utka-ush Guru (in the rapids), Chiu-rang Guru (in the waterfall), Hattar-koro Kamui (in the greatest depths), Ru-esan-koro Guru (in the lower reaches), and Chiwash-koro Kamui (who possesses the surf (wash) at a river mouth). Though the Ainu wash but little they use much water in ritual, and this may explain the multiplicity of water spirits.

We now come to the third class of *kamui* which I have called

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When I told the officiating elder that swallow-wort had not been used he brightened up and said that the child could recover. He honestly believed that had the *kamui* been summoned for so frivolous a purpose as photography, nothing that I could do would save the boy. This incident turned out happily, for it was the gratitude of the boy's mother which led her to reveal the secret of the women's girdles, to which we shall come later.

Rennuikesh told me that in the north Penup Kamui is seldom made, and then usually as a last resort in the face of approaching pestilence. If the danger is still some distance away the two *kamui* on the hearth are petitioned, and usually six *inau* of elder are set up. These resemble small winged *inau* but have no curled shavings. They are called abnormal (*shinnai*) *inau*. Each set has a chief made of *chikube-ni* at each end, the chiefs being male and female winged *inau*. They correspond to the two *kamui* of the hearth, the male being on the east side and the female on the west.

If these prove unavailing Penup Kamui comes on the scene. Should the epidemic stop short of the village or do little harm the figures are taken to the *ekashi nusa*, thanked, broken up, mixed with millet and the yeasty substance, and left to rot. Pl. VIII, fig. 2, shows Rennuikesh, who had wrapped up Penup Kamui and removed it to a safe distance, performing the last salutation before taking the figures to pieces. The Penup figures are composite; the head and body of the man should be of swallow-wort and the arms, legs and spear of mugwort. The head and body of the bird are also of swallow-wort and the neck, legs, wings and tail of mugwort. Rennuikesh felt no compunction in using mugwort, but to use swallow-wort for the body of a *kamui* without real need was to risk resentment and serious trouble.

In Sakhalin a human image called *nipopo* is carved in wood and is wrapped in an *inau* with body cut short. It is made for wealth, good luck and the protection of babies, and, lest its powers fail, it is kept in a box and shown to nobody.

What little I can say of the cult of natural objects may find a place here. A mountain or hill near a village usually received libations of beer with prayer at festivals. Some hills have specially sacred associations, and so have certain narrow valleys. Though the legends concerning them present them as abodes of spirits or fabulous beings rather than as reservoirs of *ramat*, one cannot assert that sacred mountains are merely backgrounds for

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
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778 X23 [769]

anthropomorphic or theriomorphic *kamui*. It is not the bear as such which receives adoration at festivals, but its Ancestral Host or primeval ancestors as mountain deities vaguely identified with 'the strength of the hills'.[1] I am told that hills not specially reserved for *kamui* worshipped at the *pase ongami* are mostly covered as the home of Hash-inau-uk Kamui.

Worship of rocks and standing stones is not very common. A rock near Nibutani faintly resembling a bear used to receive attention. In the north, at a place near Lake Kutcharo called Oya-kot, there is a standing stone which is said to be a monument or image of Moshiri-kara Kamui. He is supposed to have left it with some of his *ramat* on retiring after the creation of the world. It is highly venerated and probably worshipped. Batchelor[2] mentions a natural stone at Usu on the south-west coast, which appears to have been worshipped, and tells of boulders in rivers, which were believed to harbour kelpies and were said to have been charged with the destruction of an enemy while crossing the river.

[776] [825]

[1] According to the Ainu the bear itself is a mountain deity which brings skin and flesh to be given to them. The deity would be pleased to be caught by a good-tempered hunter and visit his house, bringing its precious gifts. For the hunter, the visit of a mountain deity should be an occasion of great honour. In return for the skin and flesh he would offer entertainment to the visitor and send him back to his home country with great ceremony. In the deity's home-country, it is believed, his relatives and their chief live, and they would welcome the deity with precious souvenirs given him by the Ainu. The chief deity would command his subordinate to visit such a good Ainu again.—H.W.

[2] *The Ainu and their Folklore*, London, 1901, pp. 399–400.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
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342 527 782 [411] [292] beverage may be made surreptitiously for the ancestral spirits. The ceremonial dress with patterns sewn on (*kapara amip*) should have only white patterns during ministrations to Kamui Fuchi, Nusa-koro Kamui and the ancestors.

To return to the ceremony. The elder who is to minister to Chisei-koro Kamui is led to his corner, and he who is to minister to Nusa-koro Kamui to the top of the hearth (8). Meanwhile the householder receives a cup of beer from the housewife, sprinkles a few drops with the libation wand on each of the backward-shaven *inau* standing in the ashes of the hearth at (11) on the plan, and then a few more on the fire itself. He then makes salutation and the male guests follow suit. Turning the cup so that the point of the libation wand, with its sign of the tongue, is directed towards the [776] fire, he prays[1] to Kamui Fuchi by her titles of Iresu Kamui and in some places Moshiri-koro. While so doing he holds the cup in his left hand and strokes it with his right, an act of salutation. He tells her that the sacred beer has been prepared by her favour for service to all the gods to whom it is about to be offered. He asks her to inspire the libation wand as her messenger so that, should the prayers be unsuitably worded, the meaning will become clear to the good *kamui*. She is also besought to be favourable to the household, to rear up good children and grant prosperity.

During this prayer the other two elders attend to their duties. The housewife takes a cup of beer to the elder near the north-east corner (4), also with a libation wand on the rim. With this he gives a few drops to the head of the effigy of Chisei-koro Kamui and sometimes a few to the adjacent floor, and addresses him in adulatory terms as representative of Shiramba Kamui, asking protection for the house and all therein. The other elder performs ritual salutation to Kamui Fuchi, receives his cup, tells her briefly that he is about to obey her behest to minister to Nusa-koro Kamui, and then departs on his mission.

With two exceptions the sacred (eastern) window is always used [823] [764] for passing things used in ritual, such as *inau*, beer, or the flesh of sacrificed animals. The east stands for life[2] and the west for death, and until the sun has passed the meridian it would be most im-

[1] Munro states that he has recorded this and other important prayers and [114] placed them with translations in an appendix; unfortunately this appendix has not been found.—B.Z.S.

[533] [2] An ancient song which I learnt from Rennuikesh, and which he states has been handed down in his family for many generations, tells of the rising sun

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proper to bury the dead and perilous to slay the young bear-god. It would be similarly inauspicious to present offerings to the dead through the east window. Although the departed spirits have gone to the Underworld (Pokna Moshiri), where they live in much the same way as on earth, they are supposed to have 'gone west' with the setting sun.

The two exceptions referred to are the offerings to the dead at the ceremony of Falling Tears, and to Nusa-koro Kamui at the ceremony about to be described. In this, the elder, wearing his white-patterned robe, headband and ceremonial sword, and holding his cup with the libation wand resting on the rim, goes slowly out by the door on the west. He proceeds along the northern wall of the house to the chaff-thrown *nusa*, where stands the *inau*-fence of Nusa-koro Kamui. Standing before the fence he dips the libation wand in the beer and drops the first libation on the tall *inau* with curled and twisted shavings. Then, kneeling down, he does the same to the winged *inau* and the backward-shaven *inau*. Prayers to Kamui Fuchi, Chisei-koro Kamui, Nusa-koro Kamui and the dead are said kneeling or sitting, and libations are offered in the same position. To all other *kamui* prayers are said and libations offered standing.

After the libation to Nusa-koro Kamui, the elder, directing the point of the libation wand towards him as messenger from Kamui Fuchi, and, as usual, gently stroking the cup[1] with his right hand, gives the name of the housholder and begins his prayer. He addresses the deity as Nusa-koro Kamui and also as Kamui Ekashi, *ekashi* here meaning ancestor. The same title is given to Kinashut Kamui, the snake deity, and in the prayer Shiramba Kamui is said to be related (*iriwak*) to Kinashut Kamui and to have bestowed the new house in the 'bosom' of which Kamui Fuchi dwells.

The elder than takes a sip of the beer and gives a few drops to his headband and his sword for protection against evil spirits. A young man comes out of the door bringing a cup of lees, some of which the elder sprinkles with his libation wand on the small-winged *inau*. He then says a second prayer, which includes a salutation to the *kamui* in general, and in particular to the spider goddess

lighting the sacred window, although in his village, Mokoto in Kitami Province, the sacred window is no longer specially oriented to the east.—N.G.M.

[1] I noticed an elder blowing on his cup; the explanation given was that it was to blow away evil influences. Should anyone sneeze on the cup, the beer must be thrown away and a clean cup brought for the libation.—N.G.M.

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca.1900-1942) 1963
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holding her hand. The chief mourner walks alone, using a walking-stick which is made and used only for the funeral. He carries the principal grave-goods in a mat-bag (*chitarabe*).[1] No one in the procession turns back or looks back until the grave is reached. If a brook has to be crossed it is bridged over; it is shameful to the dead and disrespectful to Wakka-ush Kamui to contaminate pure water by taking a corpse through it. The grave-post is carried by two male relatives.

In the past Ainu had no graveyards, burial in spots round the village being the rule. As we have seen, elders were sometimes buried near the house. But there have been graveyards for many years, and in the second decade of this century I have known young mothers visit the graveyard to press out their milk on the grave of a baby. While adults may visit graveyards, children are forbidden to go near them, and are terrified by frightful tales.

The grave is always dug on the day of burial, which lessens the risk of its occupation by evil spirits; it is oriented slightly south of east, as is the head of the corpse.[2] It is lined with matting and two food bowls are filled with earth and placed on the ground near the west end. This has been explained to me as a device to deceive evil spirits. A sharp post is driven into the bottom of the grave, at the head end, to make a hole for the grave-post, which is inserted after the grave has been covered in. In this district the grave-post is inserted on the left side for a man and on the right for a woman.

On the way to the grave the women continue to weep and chant the dirge, and this goes on during the burial. I am told that some Ainu of Sakhalin throw themselves on to the ground at the grave-side, even in snow or mud, and wail loudly. Near relatives gather round the head of the grave, but there does not seem to be the same formal order of precedence as there is in the house.

The body is lowered gently; sudden movement might harm the dead and would alarm the living. The rope is cut, and is never used again. Tobacco-pipe, tray, food-bowl and chopsticks are placed by the head, the bowl being inverted on the tray. Most of the other grave-goods are placed at the foot. Some of the metal goods were

[1] It is said that grave goods for a male were put into a man's bag and for a female into a woman's. (*Materials for Summarised Ethnography of Eastern Asiatic Peoples*, Vol. II, *The Ainu*, Tokyo, 1944).—H.W.

[2] It was usually oriented so that the head pointed upstream (*Materials for Summarised Ethnography of Eastern Asiatic Peoples*, Vol. II, *The Ainu*, Tokyo, 1944).—H.W.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
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elaborate carving were set up for notables. In Nibutani some posts six to eight inches in diameter may be seen, but generally they are not more than three or four inches in diameter and about five feet high. In most districts the top of the post for men is pointed like a spear, with a bevelled edge; that for women has a flat circular top with a perforation to which three bands of black cloth are attached. These may be sexual symbols. All posts have a lacing cord wound round them.

The posts for both sexes have black rings round them, and there are black markings in the slit cut in the top of the post for males.[1] These markings are made with live embers from the hearth. Kamui Fuchi is besought to endow Irura Kamui (Guide Kamui) whom she has deputed to act on her behalf, with *ramat* to guide the deceased to the ancestors.

Another prayer is made to Wakka-ush Kamui at the stream where water is drawn to fill the vessel carried in front of the body on the way to the grave. An elder asks for special *ramat* to accompany and guide the deceased. I have heard the title Irura Kamui applied to Wakka-ush Kamui. Small streams supplying domestic water are regarded as feminine and in this aspect water given by Wakka-ush Kamui is *nupuru tope a e-urespa* (mysterious together up-raising milk).

This water is used in two rites. First some of it is poured out on the earth contained in the two food-bowls which have been placed at the foot of the post. The lid of the lacquered vessel is then crushed on top of the post so that the encircling rim falls to the ground; the rest of the water is poured over the post, and the empty vessel is lifted with both hands, inverted over the post, and suddenly forced down so that it lies with the rim of the lid round the post.

By this ritual the grave-post is permeated with *ramat* and is regarded as Irura Kamui, and the *ramat* of the broken vessel is free to serve the spirit of the dead. Irura Kamui is supposed to see the soul safely off on its journey, to guide it on its way, and to guard it against interference from, or temptation by, evil spirits. The ritual is designated by a phrase only used in service to the dead—*wakka-eshit tomte* (well prepared).

[1] In some districts the mark is made with charcoal from an elder tree, which was often used as a charm against evil spirits. It is said that without the mark the soul cannot go safely to the place of the ancestral spirits (Natori, *Whale Hunting by the Volcanic Bay Ainu*, pp. 161–2, Sapporo, 1945).—H.W.

/766 cont./

846 852 574 [158] not to disturb the rest which the sick woman so badly requires. They eat the prepared dishes and take part in the jubilation of the household.

The Woman after Parturition.

846 262 The sick woman is served food of the best and most digestible sort possible. She is given rice and dried or fried fish with seal oil, but no juicy berries and no foods at all that are not readily digestible. Thus I once witnessed a woman in childbed refusing to eat rye-bread although she liked to eat it ordinarily. A woman in this stage is also not permitted to eat very cold foods, and everything is served to her at a tepid temperature.

846 For five days she is not allowed to sew, cook or do any other work. If she is weak her convalescence will last even longer. Under normal conditions a woman in childbed will get up on the sixth or seventh day and gradually go back to her usual tasks.

844 757 The Ainu pay special attention to the childbed. For instance, massage is continued even after delivery. To alleviate the pain it is supposed to be advisable to wrap into the chips with [825] which the rubbing is to be done a piece of the dried uterus of [823] a bear or the tooth of an iron saw. They also massage repeatedly with moistened sea herb. Ainu women generally suffer pains after birth in the sacral region and to remove they they use various remedies. Among others they prepare poultices for the sick woman of sand heated at the fire and then put into a little [824] bag. Also warmed chips of elder (Sambucus) are laid between the woman's feet, or warm stones wrapped in chips are laid on her abdomen. Instead of the chips they sometimes also use grass.

[514] [824] If the patient's excretions are too violent and painful an infusion of wild grass (arakoikina) is prepared and taken by the woman. They also boil a certain grass, simosineka (Lamium) and a certain tall plant called hopenukina, and with this warm tea they wash the body of the woman in childbed. Sometimes she will also drink an infusion of a certain plant called okina.

[823] A strongly recommended cure for the woman lying-in is that she carry during the first four to five days heavy coral stones of

844 [757] [823]

/766 cont./ the size of pigeon eggs which are kept as treasures in every family.

To speed up the extrusion of the afterbirth they wind a narrow strip of silk around the abdomen of the woman, and /767/ she herself pushes her finger deep into her mouth in order to cause vomiting. As soon as nausea sets in, the afterbirth ordinarily separates.

The latter is wrapped together with all the other excretions in a mat and laid down somewhere outside, away from the dwelling, after sundown. If the birth took place during the night this refuse may not be removed till the break of day.

845 The Ainu have never heard of a vagina tearing during parturition, and it is probable that this never occurs with them. But there are rare cases in which the woman is unable to bring forth the child. I knew a widower whose wife had died because of this; for the Ainu do not know of artificial means to help in a difficult birth.

846 Concern with the health of a woman lying-in does not end with the birth. Until approximately ten days have passed the woman is not allowed to leave the house, even if the delivery has taken place among strangers and the woman desires to return home as soon as possible. At her departure the owner of [574] the house in which she stayed prepares soft shavings on which the woman is bedded in the sled or boat.

845 844 114 Comparing my observations of the conditions among the Ainu and the Gilyak I must come to the conclusion the Ainu women bear children with greater difficulty and more pain than the Gilyak women—And this depsite the fact that the position of the latter is considerably worse not only during childbirth but also generally in the family life. A well-known Russian research-traveller, Krasheninnikov, who towards the end of the 18th century wrote a work entitled "A Description of Kamchatka," mentions in this book that among Ainu living on the Kuril Islands the delivery of children is a more difficult process than among the peoples of Kamchatka, since the period of convalescence of the Ainu women on the Kuril Islands,

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6



group whether obtained by adoption or by birth. In either of the Otopuke and Satnai valleys all the local groups formed a single *shine itokpa* group. But the local groups who lived in the Tokapchi valley were divided into several *shine itokpa* groups: the one in the upstream area consisted of seven local groups of Kuttarashi, Nitmap, Pipaushi, Kumaushi, Sanenkoro, Moseushi and Penke Pipaushi, another group on the middle course consisted possibly of five local groups of Kene, Memroputu, Pipairu, Fushiko and Shupusara, and perhaps one or two more *shine itokpa* groups further downstream which could not be identified.

The group had neither single authority nor common territory. The only collective action of the *shine itokpa* group, so far as identified by the present writer, was the bear ceremony (pp. 74-77). It provided the only occasion for meeting many of their relatives and friends who resided outside the local group. In normal times no group larger than the local group took part in any collective enterprise, though on rare occasions two related families from different local groups within a *shine itokpa* group might and actually did privately join to cooperate in hunting or fishing. Formal relations between local groups were rarely established, but through intermarriage (p. 17) there might have been many individual contacts between kin and affines in different local groups.

The River Group.

The river group is an aggregation of all the local groups which lived along a river as distinguished by the Ainu[18]. It was called by the name of the river plus *un utaru*, the people in such and such a river. The river group might consist of a single *shine itokpa* group as in each of the Otopuke and Satnai valleys or consist of several *shine itokpa* groups as in the Tokapchi valley. They regarded the river basin as their own territory, claiming exclusive rights to exploit all its resources, which they defended against the trespass of outsiders (pp. 56-57; 67-68; 77-78). Hence they were also called *shine iworo ukokoru utaru*, the people jointly possessing one and the same *iworu* of the river valley as distinguished by the Ainu. However, at least in normal times, there was no single authority controlling the group as a whole. The main bond which linked the people of a river together not only seems to have been economic interests but a deeply rooted cosmological background. There is evidence that each river as distinguished by the Ainu was associated with one or several particular *ekashi itokpa*. It was the *shine itokpa* group which had one of these aboriginal *itokpa*. Only the people having the aboriginal *itokpa* associated with the river, observing the associated ritual for local deities and living in the river valley, were regarded as the real people of the river who were entitled to be guardians of the river valley and of the deities that were believed to live there and look after them (pp. 70-71; 77-78).

In spring when the snow had disappeared from the plains, the Ainu set to work collecting wild plants. Their work continued incessantly and with persistence till it was autumn when dog salmon began ascending the rivers. Of the species listed in the chart, Nos. 6, 9 and 19 were especially important as food for bear cubs kept in their homes. Most of the plants collected were dried and stored away in sufficient quantities to last the winter. During spring and summer all varieties with edible leaves, stalks, or roots which the Ainu needed were taken in. In summer *trep* roots were chiefly collected. Those groups that did no farming as in Otopuke gathered these roots with hardly a day's rest during the season. The roots were made into starch for storage. On the other hand, those groups that did some farming (p. 41) seem to have gathered roots with less frequency and in smaller quantity.

In autumn, fishing and hunting activities of the Ainu reached their climax in preparation for the approaching winter. But even at this season certain kinds of edible plants such as nuts, fruits and berries, were collected, though not in such quantities as would last any great length of time. A few varieties of nuts, for instance, acorn and walnut, were exceptions.

The greater part of plants for raw materials were also gathered during autumn, a task in which women again played a major role. In this manner, when base snow covered the ground, the Ainu had completed all their collecting activities. All these activities were arranged in season, so that they were adapted to the ecology of plant life. On the basis of vegtation[1] the Ainu classified the different parts of their land into the following types as forming their main collecting grounds.

| Types of Land | Ainu Term | Plants Mainly Collected |
|---|---|---|
| Woodland on river bank | *kenashi* | 3, 5, 7, 9, 10, 12, 14 |
| Woodless field on either river bank or river terrace | *nup* | 1, 2 |
| Oak wood on river terrace | *komni tai* | 1, 2, 3, 8, 13, 18 |
| Woodland by the side of streamlets on river terrace | *nitat* | 6, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14 |

Numbers correspond to those associated with the plant names cited in the list.

The terrace on which the *kotan* stood and its adjoining river bank provided the collecting grounds for their food plants (Fig. 8). Here also were found flora for raw materials, fire-wood, and almost all other plants, excepting a few special items like Ulmus laciniata for clothing or Aconitum for arrow poison. The former species were usually found distributed in plenty and collected in the mountains in the upper reaches of a river (p. 66). Aconite

1, [Errata: the word "vegtation" should read "vegetation". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

[p.69]

# VI

## SYSTEM OF SOCIAL SOLIDARITY BETWEEN MAN AND NATURE

121 Radcliffe-Brown, in his theory of totemism, worked out an important basic concept of the subject of relation in myth and ritual of man and nature, that is, the concept of the universe as a moral order (RADCLIFFE-BROWN, 1952, pp. 130-1). The recogniton of the concept leads to that of various processes by which the natural order is brought within the social order. The subject to be discussed here is the degree and kind of interest taken by a people in spatial orientation of natural phenomena around them, and its role in the process of bringing the natural order within the social order.

No attempts have been made to analyze the beliefs and rituals of the Ainu as integral part of the system of relationships between their group life and their habitat or, in other words, as the system of social solidarity between the people and the natural world which works as counterpart to the ecological system. Yet such analyses are thought to be essential to the understanding of the Ainu territoriality and, concurrently, of the distribution and workings of Ainu groups.

Every natural phenomenon occupies a precise place in space. Natural species, whether human or non-human, live and grow in a certain amount of space on the earth. To what extent and in what way this space factor is relevant to a people's system of social solidarity between man and nature, seems to be a problem worthy of exploration.

823 824 825 776 The Ainu personified all organisms and classified them according to religious categories[52]. But they were not content with mere personification of natural species and a mere taxonomic approach to ordering them. They brought geographical factors into their system of ordering the natural world. Every natural phenomenon has its activity and these activities are interconnected with each other in relation to time and space. Thus the earth's surface, which is seen to our eyes as the carpet of fauna and flora, was seen by the Ainu as the carpet of *kamui*[1] groups in their temporary guises. Every topographical feature such as hill, river and sea, was seen as the field of activity of these *kamui* groups. According to the Ainu view, the whole Ainu land was divided into a number of *iworu*, fields of activities of *kamui*. Some data suggest that the sea also was spatially divided into sections or areas each associated with a particular *kamui* and closely related to the fishing ecology of the coastal Ainu[53].

1,[i.e., nature-spirit--Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6



River System as Seen by the Ainu. 823 ●

The Ainu classified the component parts of a river system into parent and children. In this way, for instance, the Tokapchi river system was classified into the following categories. The main river was regarded as male parent, *zaza*, a tributary as the parent river's male child, *okkai poho*, another as a female child, *matne poho*, and another as child whose sex is unknown to my informants. To the geographer the whole river system is known as the Tokapchi, but the Ainu use this term to refer only to the main river or what the Ainu regard as the parent. The son of the Tokapchi, a tributary, is known as Otopuke, the daughter as Satnai, and the child whose sex is unknown as Tushipet[4]. They have no term to refer to the river system as a whole, the component streams of a river system being each regarded as a separate unit.

They classify individual streams into *pet* and *nai*. So far as the areas investigated by the present writer are concerned, *pet* is larger than *nai*: the former may be called a river and the latter a glen. Any definite criteria of the two categories, however, are not known to the present writer. Each named stream, whether *pet* or *nai*, is the dwelling of, and is owned by, a *kamui*-spirit. The *kamui* was known by the name of the river or the glen which it possessed. For example, the river known as the Otopuke was inhabited by '*Otopuke un pet-orun kamui*' which mean the river-*kamui* living in the Otopuke river. Another name used for the *kamui* is '*Otopuke un pet iworu koru or amba kamui*'. *Iworu* means the activity field of *kamui*-spirits, and *koru* or *amba* means 'to own'. The glen-owning *kamui* was called by the name of the glen as, for instance, '*Naitai un nai koru kamui*'. The river-owning spirit was believed to be the chief or head of the water spirits, *nai koru kamui*, which lived in streams flowing into the river[5]. 823 776

Each river group evolved around a river, *pet*, was distinguished by the name of the river as, for example, '*Otopuke un utaru*', the people of Otopuke. The river basin, i.e. the area drained by the river and its tributary streams, includes fields, hills and mountains. River basins were named by adding the suffix '*iworu*' to the name of the river; for instance, the river basin of Otopuke would be called '*Otopuke iworu*'. In this context *iworu* refers to land. The *iworu*, i.e. the river basin, was claimed by the river group as their territory. It was called, for instance, '*Otopuke un utaru koru iworu*', the *iworu* which the people of Otopuke own. The relation between the river system and the territory of the river group has already been explained in details in Chapter V and Note 45. 823 619

Each river group believed that the land-*iworu* of their own river was also inhabited by a number of various *kamui* or nature-spirits and the chiefs among them as well as the chief water-spirit, resided in the upper reaches of the 823 776

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823 776 river as explained below. Each river has its own head which was thought to be especially important to the river group evolved around it and which was called by a special name. Most important of these names is the affix '*shi*' meaning true, grand and parental, which is attached to the name of the river[56]. For example, one of the head streams of Otopuke is known as *Shi*-Otopuke. What the Ainu call *Shi*-Otopuke, is what they believe to be the source. The river head area was known as *kimun iworu*, *iworu* deep in mountains. Its boundary usually corresponds to the limit of dog salmon run; however, the present writer could not verify what the fact means. The top of a particular mountain at the source of *Shi*-stream, i.e. the source stream as recognized by the Ainu, of the river, was called *iworu tapka*, the top of *iworu*, where it was believed the chief bear-spirit lived. There also are some evidences that the chiefs of some other categories of nature spirits were believed to reside there[57]. *Kimun iworu* was the area which was actually visited only by Ainu bear hunters and bark collecters. The *iworu tapka* was believed by the Ainu to be the place never accessible to them. Ainu settlements were along the river below *kimun iworu*.

The tributary streams giving into each river were called children, *poho*, or branched people, *tekehe utari*, of the river and had their own names. Each of these streams or glens named by the Ainu, was inhabited and owned by a water-spirit, *nai koru kamui*, the glen-owning *kamui* who was subordinate to [360] the river-owning *kamui*[58]. Ainu settlements were usually situated near the junction of those streams and the river distinguished by the Ainu as a unit, for instance, as Otopuke.

361 776 342 Ainu settlements were thus associated with the terrestrial homes of nature spirits, *kamui*. The houses of all Ainu settlements had a special type of window which was oriented towards the river-head[59]. The sacred window had a function specialized for communication between the fire spirit in the house and other *kamui* outside[60]. This had influenced the spatial arrangement of the habitation of the Ainu family and the pattern of the Ainu settlements (Figs. 1 and 6)[61]. In the past, settlements usually consisted of a single row of houses, which seldom lined up face to face on both sides of a road. Now [178] that the cosmological ideas of most Ainus have changed, the traditional pattern has also altered in most settlements, which are usually seen today with a plurality of house rows.

825 776 Dog Salmon as Viewed by the Ainu.

The Ainu view of the nature of the dog salmon, especially of its seasonal run to specific rivers and its habit of spawning in specific grounds, may be summarized as follows.

a. The salmon takes the form of a fish but it is not a fish of common

[p. 138]

V

(45) Evidence for non-coincidence between the river group territory and the valley of the river. 133 423 619 823

Tokapchi.—Geographically, the river Sorapchi is a tributary of the river Ishikari and its valley a part of the valley of the Ishikari river system. Practically, however, the part of the Sorapchi river basin that lies above the line of the Nishitap glen that feeds it and the Numoppe glen that feeds the Nishitap, formed a portion of the Tokapchi river group's territory (Map 2). This means that Tokapchi territory extended in part over the intervening watershed into the Ishikari river basin. In this extension of territory the Tokapchi Ainu from at least the Kuttaraushi and Nitmap local groups maintained hunters' huts, to which they came for bear hunts every season (p. 59). The area was also visited by collectors from Tokapchi who gathered bark for making textile material. For the fact of its belonging to the Tokapchi river group Ushino from Nitmap accounts: "The upper Sorapchi runs parallel with the Sahorun that feeds the Tokapchi and points with it in the direction of Mt. Optateshuke, the 'head' mountain of the river Tokapchi. That is why the upper Sorapchi belonged to Tokapchi". A similar reason is seen applied to the following other cases. The valley of the Shikaripet, tributary to the Tokapchi and inhabited by some of the member local groups of the upper Tokapchi *shine itokpa* group, belonged for the most part to the Tokapchi, or *shipet*, river group. But part of its lower region, that part of it on the Otopuke side which is bordered by the river's lower course from the mouth to the junction with the tributary Penkechin glen and then by the course of this glen, was included in the Otopuke river group territory (Map 2). The point was confirmed by my two informants, Ushino from Tokapchi and Kazari from Otopuke. Ushino explains that 'inasmuch as the Shikaripet flows out of one mountain with the Tokapchi, it belonged truly to Tokapchi' Kazari on the other hand explains that the glens of the Shikaripet on its west side belonged to Tokapchi because they all point to the depth of Tokapchi, whereas those on its north side belonged to Otopuke because they point to Otopuke.

Otopuke.—The terriotry[1] of the Otopuke river group stretched out again in part in its interior region into the geographical basin of the neighbouring Tushipet, extending the whole breadth between the Mēto and Nukanan glens down to the Piripet tributary into which they flow, the three streams forming the boundaries on the Tushipet river group territory (Map 2). Of the

1, [Errata: the word "terriotry" should read "territory"—Analyst]

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133 territory of the Otopuke river group, that part of it which extended over the
423 watershed into the Tsushipet river basin was called *ekoipokun an (Otopue)*
619 *iworu (iworu* in the east of Otopuke), while the aforesaid portion that bordered
823 on Shikaripet was called *echupokun an (Otopuke) iworu (iworu* in the west of Otopuke); the geographical Otopuke river basin plus the above portions was known as Otopuke *iworu*. The reason given by Kazari for the two glens forming the territorial boundaries is that they run on the west side of Mt. Piripet where all the glens point in the direction, and flow out, of 'the true head mountain of the Otopuke' that lies deep in the most revered source of the main Otopuke. The glens rest on Otopuke and that is why their areas formed its *iworu*. On the other hand, the glens on the east side of the mountain point to the head of the Tushipet: they rest on Tushipet. That is why their areas formed the *iworu* thereof.

Tushipet.—Mention has already been made of the Tushipet river basin, home of the Tsuhipet river group, forming in part an extension of the neighbouring Otopuke river group area; into another part of the same basin there extended the Kusuri river group's territory adjoining on the other side. This was an area encircled on one side by the watershed draining on the Penkesemniri side into the Ashoro, tributary to the Tushipet, on another side by the main course of the Tushipet above the end of the watershed and on another by the watershed that divides the Tushipet and Kusuri river basins.

Mukawa.—As Kashindeashi of Chin heard from people of the older generation who lived the traditional life, their hill hunting grounds for deer lay at the head of the Noyasube glen that feeds the neighbouring river Azuma. They were covered with a well-developed fir forest, affording fine winter quarters for the deer, and the hunters built their huts on the edge of the forest. Geographically, the place lies within the Azuma river valley, but it never belonged to Azuma *iworu* or basin as distinguished by the Ainu. Though the actual demarcation lines are not clear, the lower Noyasube which is tributary to the Azuma belonged, at any rate by Ainu distinction, to Azuma *iworu* and therefore to the Azuma Ainu. Nevertheless, the uppermost reaches of the glen alone belonged to the Mukawa Ainu. The reason, though vague, is given as below. Three glens flow out of the waterhead mountain—the Noyasube, the Irushikapet and the Moipet. Of these only the Noyasube flows on the side of Azuma; the other glens, running on the side of Mukawa, enter Mukawa *iworu* or basin. That is why the uppermost Noyasube, rising as it does with the others in the same mountain, belonged alone to Mukawa *iworu*.

Saru.—As Hachiro Kurokawa, son of the Nukipet headman's brother, heard from people of the older generation, the natives of the Nukapira, tributary

1, [Errata: the word "at" should read "as". Cf. errata sheet, p.164-A--Analyst]

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to the Saru, went for bear hunts beyond the upper reaches of their river into those of the adjacent Nikap river. For the area on the Nukapira side that stretched between the Puirapet and Aipet glens, both tributary to the upper Nikap, was Nukapira terriotory, whereas the area lying opposite was Nikap territory and no Nukapira Ainu could cross the river Nikap without permission. This area on the upper Nikap which formed an extension of Nukapira territory apparently coincides with what has already been reported by IZUMI as a part of Saru iworu (IZUMI, 1951, p. 43). He ascribes the origin to a strife in which the area was taken by the people of Saru as prize from those of a neighbouring river area. As far as the author has examined, no information is available from any river valley to confirm such an origin.

These briefly are the evidences from which it might very roughly be concluded that there is no doubt about the Ainu conceptions of territory resting upon their cosmological theory on the relations between the river and the mountain and the actual demarcation being conditioned by that theory. The details will be given in Charpter VI.

46 It may be assumed from what Hachiro Kurokawa of Nukipet, an old Ainu settlement on the Nukapira, tributary to the river Saru, a son of a brother of the Nukipet headman, heard from people of the elder generation who knew traditional life, that the natives living on the Nukapira river course—residents of Nukipet a local group), Nioi and Shikerepe (both probably local groups settlements—had been from old times a group by themselves distinct from any others living along the main Saru, or a distinct 'river group' as termed by the writer. By native distinction the river Nukapira, like the river Saru, formed a distinct *pet*, main stream or river, pointing to its own head mountain, Poroshiri. The two rivers were accompanied each by a river-spirit, *petorun kamui* of its own. The people of Saru observed their own ritual for the Saru river-spirit, *petorun kamuinomi;* those of Nukapira their own. On some necessary occasions the inhabitants of Nukapira conducted a group activity independent of the Saru people. "Members of the same river group could freely go gathering anywhere within their own river area, as did the Nukapira people. But the people of Nukapira were not to go fishing without permission in the Saru river area. In any area other than their own they could never act freely". This information, of which little more particulars are to be known, carries an impression that the people of Nukapira might have formed a different river group from those of Saru. IZUMI's report on the Saru Ainu as a territorial group gives no mention about these point[1] but treats the natives of the Nukapira and the main Saru as belonging to the same river group. Apart from this, there is no available report relating to the matter.

1,[Errata: the word "point" should read "points". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

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Only a few families of the *pishun utaru* followed stretch-rope fishing: shortly after the land allotments, 2 families out of 10 and odd at Chin on the Mukawa and or 3 out of 14 or 15 at Nina on the Saru.

Each spring and again each autumn, for about a month while favourable weather prevailed for drying and storing away their catches, the males of these families went to stay at seaside fishing lodges, *haina koru kucha* or *pishun kucha*, and devoted themselves to fishing with the stretch-rope, '*haina*', while their families remained at home. Information has it that about the same time there were 5 or 6 lodges belonging to the Saru group standing in cluster on their side of Huihap Cape.

*Yanke sotki and repun sotki.*—*Yanke sotki* was the area lying next to *repun tomari* and extending to where the hinder mountain tops were seen to disappear beneath the horizon. *Repun sotki* was the open sea lying beyond. The former was associated with *yanke sotki kor kamui* and the latter with *repun sotki kor kamui*. It is said that *yanke soti kor kamui* was the spirit of the younger killer whale and *repun sotki kor kamui* that of the elder killer whale. Little can be known about the probable connection between them and *repun kamui*, king killer whale or chief killer whale, referred to by all informants from interior settlements as a special *kamui* worshipped by *pishun utar*, coastal people. It is also said that *repun kamui* was a brother to *metot ushi kamui*, chief of bears.

The above-mentioned two *sotki* provided the Ainu with fishing grounds for swordfish, *shirikap*. The subdivision of the area seems related with the habit of swordfish and its effect on the method of their fishing. The Ainu fished for them during summer when the fish swam round in groups of several near the sea surface. The fishermen chased them in *itaoma chip*, dugouts with broadened sides, and pierced them with harpoons, *kite*. Harpooning from small-sized dugouts on the open sea of this large fish held as ferocious as the spearfish, was regarded by the Ainu as an operation of as much special ability, both technical and ritual, as brown bear hunting. At the Mukawa shortly after the land allotments only 3 families from the Chin local group core followed swordfish harpooning. It was known that in some years the fish came nearer shore and in others they kept farther off shore. The boundary of *yanke sotki* represented the nearest approach line of the fish known by experience, and the off-shore boundary their farthest line of departure from shore. When the harpooning season came on, the *shirikap* fishermen could foretell the probable course of the fish, whether they would come the way of *yanke sotki* or that of *repun sotki*, by such signs as the high or low flights of fireflies. The coming of swordfish to *repun sotki* meant for the Ainu going out into the markless open sea; it was then that the Ainu became most particular on the observation of their ritual for *sotki kor kamui*.

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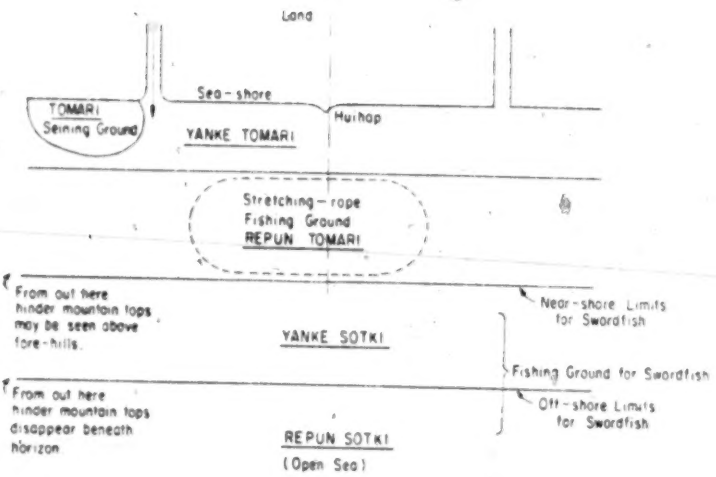


226 796 The operation was carried out with their settlements as base without using any special lodges. The fish caught was disposed in practically the same way as with the bear. Its head was set on an altar erected out of doors "so that it might return to the open sea with the *inau* and regain its original shape." The flesh was shared as *aeimek* among all the families in the local group and also relatives living outside.

823 (54) YOSHIDA was informed by an old Ainu that the Tokapchi, a male river, and the Ishikari, a female river, are a married couple whose children are the Otopuke and Satnai rivers (YOSHIDA, 1956b, p. 151). Another old Ainu informed him that the Otopuke is a son of the Tokapchi and the Satnai a daughter of it (ibid., p. 326).

796 823 (55) The dominance-subordinance relation between the *kamui* attributed to a river, *pet*, as distinguished by the Ainu and around which a river group has evolved, and the *kamui* attributed to each of the tributary streams of the river, has been given no attention in any published materials. For the Ainu belief of water spirits living in a large group with its chief or headman presiding over them, reference may be made to the following descriptions by KINTAICHI: "There are so many of these (water spirits) *kamui* that, when soliciting their help, the Ainus call a chief as (in this ritual prayer),

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0 *kamui*, who keep your eyes on the stream flowing down this village of Saru,

0 *kamui*, who command a host of retainers of *wakka ushi kamui*, the

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*kamui* of water,
To you we implore....." (KINTAICHI, 1944, p. 270).

NATORI describes a mythical relationship between *Wakka ushi kamui*, the *kamui* of a given main stream or river, for instance the Saru, and *Nai koru kamui*, the *kamui* of a given glen or spring flowing into it (NATORI, 1941, p. 38). KINTAICHI cites *Pet koru kamui*, river owning *kamui* (KINTAICHI, 1944, p. 217).

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[539]

(56) *Shi*-stream.—In CHIRI's explanation of the use and meaning of the affix '*shi*' it is remarked that a number of streams into which the headwaters of a river branch are regarded as parent and children and that the one thought to be the main stream receives the affix to indicate its parentage: thus *Shi*-Tokoro means the 'parent' Tokoro, i.e. the head of the main Tokoro (CHIRI, 1951, p. 34).

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Since geographically the headwaters of every river branch into a number of streams, whether large or small, it might be supposed that all rivers have their main stream affixed with '*shi*', but whether or not that is always the actual case remains to be proved. As a matter of fact, where the head-streams are distinguished one from another, that one certainly carries the affix which is regarded to be the true main stream. The Satnai, however, gives no indication of its main head-stream being specially distinguished as *shi*-stream, because, as Ushino of Nitmap explains, the head of this river never branches. No investigation has been made for the river Azuma.

(57) *Iworu tapka* and the upper reaches of a river as the abode of nature spirits.—In Otopuke the abode of the river-owning *kamui* was also oriented to the *iworu tapka* of the river, i.e. the summit of Mt. Otopke. In Mukawa, the chief tree-spirit, *shirampa kamui*, as well as the chief bear-spirit, *metotush kamui*, and the river-spirit, *wakka ush kamui*, were believed to reside in the highest mountains in the upper reaches of the river. The land-*iworu*-owning spirits of Tokapchi or Otopke, *Tokapchi or Otopuke iworu koru kamui*, the river-owning spirit, *petorun kamui*, of Tokapchi, and the river-spirit, *wakka ush kamui*, of Azuma, were each held to live in the upper reaches of the respective river. The number and kinds of the land-*iworu*-owning *kamui* could not be identified strictly; in regard to Tokapchi, the spirits belonging to the category are *kotan koru kamui*, the *kotan*-owning *kamui*, i.e. the owl spirit, *niyash koru kamui*, the spirit of a certain bird, and some others which could not be named; concerning Otopuke, it is only informed that there were six or seven *kamui* of the category, the names of which my informant could not mention. The author's attempts at reaching a clear definition of this category have been fruitless. It is identified by Hikoichiro Oyamada, of

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Shikot, with *shiri koru kamui* and *wakka ushi kamui*, by Hachiro Kurokawa and Manjiro Hiramura, of Saru, with bear-spirits, and again by Kentaro Yoshimura, of Azuma, with bear-spirits and probably *wakkaushi kamui*. A published material refers to it as standing in Saru for *hashi inau koro kamui* (i.e. *kamui* in the shape of a certain bird) and *shirampa kamui* (NATORI, 1941, p. 77).

Referring to the dwelling place assigned to *kotan koru kamui* of village-owning *kamui*, YOSHIDA quotes an old Tokapchi Ainu as saying: "In Satnai (i.e. Mt. Satnai at the head of the river Satnai—present writer) and Nupkaushi (i.e. Mt. Nupkaushi on the border of Otopuke *iworu*—present writer) there dwells in each a *kotan koru kamui*: in Satnai the *kamui* of the people of Satnai and in Nupkaushi that of the people of Otopuke" (YOSHIDA, 1956b, p. 154). An old Saru Ainu from Porosaru *kotan* informs that in his *kotan* "people offer *inau* and wine to Poroshiri (i.e. Mt. Poroshiri, recognized by Ainu as the head of the river Saru—present writer) as held to be the place where lives the *kotan koru kamui*" (YOSHIDA, 1957, p. 57). The only information available concerning the chief of water-spirits has been quoted from Mituoka in Note 59. For a belief in the guardian *kamui* of a district or land dwelling in the water-head mountain of a river along which the natives lived, see a quotation from YOSHIDA in Note 59.

(58) *Iworu* as a dale basin and the hunting territory.—The word *iworu*, rather than being a general term, is more usually a particular term to denote the basin of an actual river, *pet*, or dale, *nai*. As viewed by the Ainu, a river- or dale-basin has two aspects, as a geographical area and as a field of activity for associated nature-spirits. The designation of a river basin was made by the name of the *pet*, as, for instance, 'Otopuke *iworu*'. Similarly, when the term was applied to a dale basin, the name of the dale came first, as 'Wop *iworu*'. In practice the term was used in connection with hunting activities, as, for example, "I am going to Wop *iworu*", "Deer are plentiful in Nitatnai *iworu*", or "Wop *iworu hutne*, the narrows of the Wop valley".

Many Ainus, when asked what the *iworu* is, answer that it is a hunting ground, for the following reason. Their hunting lodge, *iramande chise* or *kucha chise*, was invariably found in some dale, *nai*, with the whole of its upper area as *iramande* (hunting) *ushi* (site or place) or *ku ari* (set with bows) *ushi* of the occupants. It will be seen that their hunting ground lay always in some particular dale or *iworu*. In case of some hunting ritual or dispute with outsiders over a hunting ground, reference was made by the name of the representative (elder) of the hunting group concerned or by the name of the territorial group to which the hunting group belonged, as 'So-and-so's *iworu*' or '*iworu* under such and such people's control'. It must be noted

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825 NATORI, 1941, p. 43) and the mythological stories collected by KINTAICHI (KINTAICHI, 1943, pp. 153-154; 176-177). Nevertheless, the Ainu view according to which they established a territorial ordering or grouping of bears is indicated only in the writings of INUKAI as follows: "the Ainu in this district i.e. Otopuke believe that just as they themselves have from generation to generation lived in such a way as not to disgrace their *kotan* and family names, so the bears of the mountains with their definite ancestry—e.g. the Bears of the Mountains of Akan (at the head of the river Akan in Kushiro) or the Bears of Mt. Optateshke (at the head of the river Tokapchi) coming down from respective forefathers—behave themselves alike not to disgrace their ancestors" (INUKAI, 1942, p. 143).

773 823 64 The river along which the Ainu settled, its source and the high mountain that harbours the source also played important parts in providing backgrounds for their mythology, as may be seen in KINTAICHI's material of myths collected in Saru (KINTAICHI, 1943, pp. 15, 66, 71, 88,89, 153-154, 172, 176-177). The material contains some myths which clearly indicate the relation existing between the mountain of *kamui*, the large house standing on its top and the chief of the bears who lives there (ibid., pp. 153-4; 176-7).

CHIRI remarks that the *kamui nupuri* or *kamui*-mountains rise as watersheds for most of the rivers and that they are associated with many legends of gardens for the *kamui* and mysterious lakes called *kamui to* on their summits (CHIRI, 1951, p. 11).

825 776 772 65 Return of the bear spirit to the river source area.—In most of the writings hitherto published it is simply mentioned that the spirit of the ritually-killed bear goes back to the 'land of *kamui*' or 'divine land' where its parent or chief lives, no reference being made to the spatial orientation of nature spirits which is so charateristic of Ainu cosmology. A survey guided in the light of the Ainu view of habitat unmistakably reveals the fact that the land so designated is not a mere divine land of imagination but an actual, spatially-oriented land of the chief of the bears. The fact is also borne out by scattered information hitherto published, such as that of a Saghalien Ainu headman who informs that "the bear ceremony is performed to send off the bear-spirit back to the mountain simply because that is where he came from and where the deity of the mountain lives" (INUKAI and NATORI, 1939, p. 254) or that from an Otopuke Ainu that "the *maratto* (the skull representing the spirit of the ritually-killed bear), guided by *niyash koru kamui* and *kotan koru kamui*, goes to the abode of *nupri koro kamui*" (i.e. mountain-owning *kamui*, chief of the bears) (NATORI, 1941, p. 63). Information similar to the last was collected by the present writer from Ushino, an informant from

/571 cont./

Ainu. Steller (1) and Krascheninnikof (2) expressly state that the

1. Beschr. von dem Lande Kamtschatka, p. 249, note a, and p. 320.

2. /Opis. zemli Kamchatki /Description of the Region of Kamchatka/" (Poln. sobr. uchen. putesh. po Rossii, Vol. II, p. 49).

first iron implements of the Kamchadal, which they knew and used even prior to the arrival of the Russians in their country, were large Japanese iron needles, and their Kamchadal name also points to this origin of them, for "sühse" (according to Steller) or "schisch" (according to Krascheninnikof), as I have pointed out above (3), only means "Japanese" after the designation for

3. See pp. 407-412 above.

the Japanese passed on to the Kamchadal by the Ainu of the Kurile Islands. The Kamchadal, as Steller further reports, knew how to do some forging on these needles, which they presumably learned from the same Ainu who had brought them the needles. For instance, if the eye of the needle broke off during use, they made it red-hot, gave it a form like its former and by hammering it with a stone, /572/ and bored another hole in it with the help of another needle. Likewise prior to the arrival of the Russians, they also received through the Kurile Ainu pieces of Japanese iron ore. They knew of no other use for these, however, than to fasten them, if, as Steller relates, they were about 2-3 inches long and had roughly the shape of a knife, to the tip of a pole and set this up in front of their houses as a symbol of great respect and wealth. It is certain that this esteem of the Kamchadal for such an insignificant and in itself quite useless thing for them was based on information from the Ainu that this was the material out of which the Ssisan (Japanese), who in

K 823 A 439 823 186 /572 cont./ their eyes, of course, were surrounded with the aura of great wealth and esteem, made those knives, swords, and the like which they themselves (the Ainu) prized so highly and paid for so dearly in trade with them. How very much this was the case can be A 439 435 seen from Steller's information that the Kurile Ainu gladly gave 20 sea beavers for an old Japanese saber and thought that they had made a very good trade, but wore such sabers only on festive days or during festive processions and made "the strangest figures during the welcoming" with them.

G A K 439 17 325 For the moment it must remain undecided whether the above-mentioned iron needles, which came from Japan to the Kamchadal as their first iron implements, spread from the latter to their neighbors, the Koryak and the Chukchee, before iron was brought these peoples by the Russians. At any rate, three Paleo-Asiatic peoples, the Ainu, the Gilyak, and the Kamchadal, received iron from Japan, and this was a natural consequence of the geographical position of the latter in the vicinity of these peoples, for just to the north of Nippon, the principal island of Japan, is the island of Jesso, the principal region of the Ainu (1),

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1. The view advanced chiefly by Ph. Siebold that the Ainu formerly also inhabited the north of Nippon (see above, p. 255) has recently been attacked by Brauns ("Die Bewohner des Japanischen Inselreichs /The Inhabitants of the Japanese Island-Realm/" in the Jahresber. des Frankfurter Vereins für Geogr. u. Statist., Years 48 and 49, 1883-1884, 1884-1885, Scientific Part, pp. 5 ff).

which, in turn, on the one hand, leads to the half-Gilyak Sakhalin, and, on the other hand, via the chain of the Kuriles, G A K 194 325 to Kamchatka. One may therefore draw the further conclusion that at the time when these peoples lived farther in the interior